

/416 cont./

585

If the flight does not take place, the marriage is considered realized.

[606]
[431]

A short time later they customarily take a nuptial trip, on which the young man, accompanied by his wife, goes to visit the father-in-law, taking him presents (smoked fish, fruit, etc.), and thus the friendly relations will be strengthened. These nuptial trips, moreover, appear in the legends.

*[192]

The wife will take with her, for the new home, as dowry or property, her *pi'ókamō*, that is, a small cipo basket, with her ornaments, utilitarian objects, and a cluster of leaves containing *ōnōñá* powder (*carajurú* /*carajura*/).

Immediately in the first days of the marriage the husband will give the wife a beating. He will hit her, however, with the hands, so they assured us; and she cannot react. Although it is a matter of a custom that aims at finding out the good will of the girl and her capacity for suffering, it seems, nevertheless, that it is the circumstance of some misunderstanding between the spouses that will provide the opportunity for this beating.

593

a) /sic; 5)/ Relations between the spouses.

The relations between the spouses are normal enough. Perhaps they might be called friendly (18),

[123]

18. We had the opportunity to travel with a Karapanā family from the headwaters of the Papurí and to see the wife in a long and cordial conversation with the husband.

although without caresses and other displays of affection, since it is certain that some familiarity will arise from their living together. The husband will fear that bad treatment will drive away the wife (19),

• [586]

19. Several episodes have been reported to us. In the beginning of 1954, during our stay in

/416 cont. /

593

• 586

[797]

/footnote 19 cont. / Pari-cachoeira, a Desana woman married to a Tuyuka from Cabari (a little above Pari-cachoeira), in view of the bad treatment by the husband, abandoned him and a little child a few months old and returned to her povoado on the lower Tiquié. Up to July of this year the Missionary had not yet managed to have her return to her husband.

especially if they do not yet have any children, because the marriage is not yet stabilized. And, finally, it is she who works for him in the clearing and in the house.

593

[587]

/417/ Although there is no law that obstructs divorce or that makes it impossible for the divorced person to go on to other nuptials, both always have before their eyes the difficulty of a second marriage.

That will not keep them from having misunderstandings, or the husband, especially if he is drunk, from beating the wife. Of the many whom we questioned on this subject, all affirmed to us the bad treatment and even cruelties on the part of their husbands.

The woman, however, will never react, because this is what the tribal laws command (20).

20. We have had news, moreover, of some episodes of reaction on the part of the woman, especially when she perceives that the husband is weakened by drunkenness. It is one more blow that their customs and beliefs have started suffering.

593

521

[115]

There is an original and somewhat strange custom, as follows from the report by the Taryana Indian Teodora from Iauareté, confirmed by natives of other tribes. During the day and in the early hours of the night the spouses maintain long conversations with each other in the maloca, each one, for example, lying in

/422 cont./

562

622

756

[797]

/footnote 29 cont./ many of them have never in fact heard of any woman Tuxaua. Someone answered us precisely that she can be Tuxaua, but they had never heard of a woman Tuxaua. It is to be noted that in the Tukano language there is the feminine Wyógo, a term that is ordinarily applied to the wife of the Tuxaua (Wyogó) and, in the Missionary centers, also to the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of the girls' school. The example of Caridade (p. 709) seems to authorize our affirmation above.

not, however, those of pajé. This exclusion perhaps expresses, not so much contempt, but the concept that she is not endowed with the magical power necessary for the exercise of the office of pajé.

593

[586]

In marriage she seems to enjoy even greater freedom than the young man, being able to leave her husband. It must be concluded then that, although recognizing the primary of the husband (as also happens in our civilization), considered from the domestic-social point of view the wife is on a plane of equality with the husband (30).

30. We recently verified that this is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg, who, after prolonged contact with the Kubewana, was able to conclude that the woman is not the beast of burden, but the intelligent lady of the house (Z. I. 354).

8) Moral condition of the woman.

562

[115]

We once heard from a maiden the expression: "the woman is not worth anything." We questioned many other women, single and married, and all confirmed the accuracy of this concept, without knowing how to give further /423/ explanations. Only one added: "the woman must leave her own tribe."

This usage of grandparent terms is different from the seniority respect usages previously discussed, because "older sibling" among the Cubeo has a formal connotation of respect, whereas the grandparent term is a genial one as in English. 601 561

CROSS - COUSINS

Cross-cousins of the same sex often have a relationship that is formed by the fact that they have been principals in a brother-sister exchange marriage. Since their parents, who were siblings of the opposite sex, were also principals in arranging such a marriage, they have shared in some of the intimacy of relationship between these two. Cross-cousins of the same sex have, of course, little contact with one another, but having so much in common, their relationship tends to be a warm one. It is a curious relationship, in that it also has in it a latent threat of trouble, trouble that arises from marital discord. As already noted, one of the expectations of a brother-sister exchange marriage from the male viewpoint is that if his wife leaves him he can get his sister to leave her husband in retaliation. He believes that he can apply pressure upon his cross-cousin brother-in-law to send back the runaway wife or face the breakup of his own marriage. Thus, what begins as a family squabble in one community may embroil a happy marriage in the affinal community. The expectation that a woman will leave her husband only because her brother wants her to is in practice a vain hope, unless he has the cooperation of his male cross-cousin brother-in-law, who urges the woman, his sister, to return to her husband. 605 586 593

Cross-cousins of opposite sex refer to one another as *hitrimako* or *hiteimaku*, the possessive prefix connoting closeness. By contrast, *teima* has the connotation of distance. The relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex is governed by the customs of courtship and is, therefore, an individual matter. 605 [601] [193]

THE AFFINAL GROUP

Among affinals there are two principal relationships. The most important is that between parents and children-in-law, the *pani* relationship. This relationship is both consanguineal and affinal since it includes the children of siblings of opposite sex and reciprocally the cross aunt and uncle. The Cubeo draw no distinction, incidentally, between parents and their children-in-law who are of the consanguineal kin and those who may be complete strangers. The emphasis in 606

585

593

606

knowing that her full status as a married woman begins with her having her own garden, must get her husband to get her out of her mother-in-law's household. He, however, knows his mother's will and is also aware that the men of the sib are watching him to see if he will be strong enough to stand up against his wife, the "alien" to the sib.

585

586

593

614

If the stalemate continues too long the young wife has the means to break it. She runs away. It is a married woman's privilege to run away at any time during her marriage. Her husband will pursue her, but she has many sanctuaries. She can get back to her own community, where she is safe and has the certainty that she will not be yielded up to a pursuing husband and that he has no claim against her parents. The common view is that if a man is not strong enough to hold a wife that is his misfortune. A runaway wife may find sanctuary in any sib, even in one that is closely related to that of her husband. A neighboring sib is only a temporary stopover for a runaway wife. It provides a more neutral atmosphere, however, in which she and her pursuing husband can discuss the reasons why she has run away. It is young brides who most frequently run off. Occasionally a girl is seriously determined to leave her husband and she will then most certainly find her way home, even if she has to go afoot all the way. Ordinarily she expects her husband to intercept her. When he brings her back the headman will say to him, "Take charge of your wife," and the husband will proceed to prepare a manioc garden for his wife. Some young wives provoke a crisis by seducing the husband's brother and allowing the community to find out. Again the headman will say, "Take charge of your wife."

[237]

585

586

593

614

182

These crises are so common in the early stages of marriage that I am inclined to regard them as quasi-ritual, and as part of a prolonged marriage ceremony at the end of which the wife achieves her proper status as controller of an autonomous zone, her manioc garden, and as female head of household. The act of running away suggests a counterpart to the initial act of "abduction." Both acts acknowledge the unruly role of the alien woman and emphasize the power of the man in restoring order. The man who brings his runaway wife back has scored a victory in the eyes of his sib. This victory absolves him from the onus of seeming to "give in" to the demands of his wife. But if the act of bringing back a runaway wife is a bit of ritual, it must also be stated that it is not devoid of spontaneous and rich human emotion.

595

Monogamy is the rule and is consistent with the preference for exchange marriage. Polygyny and polyandry, however, are not barred.

- 586 Divorce is easy and rather frequent during the early years of marriage. Most often it is the woman who leaves her husband, for the general reason that she does not like him and, more rarely, because he beats her. If a woman has no intention of going back to her husband she returns home, re-enters her parents' household, and her husband has no further claim upon her. If she is undecided, she claims the hospitality of a neighboring sib and awaits a reconciliation. A marriage is not officially severed, on the woman's part, unless she returns home. She cannot run away with another man and expect to avoid trouble. Men send wives away mainly because they are barren.
- (242) The Cubeo have no other official view of infertility than that the woman is using an abortifacient. They therefore tend to view barrenness as a hostile act. A wife who is asked to leave has no choice but to do so. Her grown children are expected to remain behind in their own sib, while the nursing baby accompanies the mother.

- 586 The most common source of marital discord that may also lead to divorce is adultery. From quarrels that erupt during drinking parties the impression is created that adultery is very common. Almost invariably it is the woman who is blamed, partly because women commonly are sexually aggressive, and partly because that is the least disruptive view to take of the matter; it does least damage to the important male solidarity of the sib.
- 684

BANUKIWA MARRIAGES

614	Nyowa	14	Tatoyo	3
	Uanana	7	Siriana	2
	Mianawa	5	Bwébowwa	1
	Hürüwd	4	Hurédariwa	1
	Kordwa	4	Karapana	1
	Yuriti	4	Piratapiyo	1
	Djurémauca	3	Tóriawü	1
	Konéntaraboiwü	3		

561
192

still needs help is *trumihinkū* (male) or *trumihinko* (female); the youngster until puberty is *hwainyó* (male) or *hwainkó* (female); the adult male is *ūmū* (male) or *nomyó* (female), and finally, the old people are *bekū* (male) or *bekó* (female).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

842

The Cubeo believe it is the spermatic fluid (*hūrū*) that causes conception. They regard the womb as a ground in which the fetus grows, or is cultivated as seeds are planted in the earth. Since men and women do not discuss together the biology of conception and of pregnancy, their views differ. Men I spoke to dated conception from the time when the abdomen begins to swell, while women dated it from the cessation of menstruation. Both sexes believe that continued coitus after conception will add to the number of children that will grow in the womb. Stories are told of people who did not heed this so that the woman burst from an accumulation of fetuses. Coitus is stopped, however, by the male reckoning.

[843]

843

833

842

842

847

[833]

It is a common view of men that women are not eager to bear children. Women, they say, know how to bring about abortion and frequently resort to infanticide. They explain that women are sexually too ardent and rather than forgo coitus during the long nursing period they would rather not have a child at all. Moreover, a woman who has not been enjoying sexual intercourse with her husband will abort or kill her offspring. If she chooses infanticide, however, she spares the boy. Women do concede knowledge and use of abortifacients and they acknowledge that others of their sex practice infanticide. They agree that a woman who does not love her husband punishes him by denying him a child. Thus, the Cubeo are disinclined to believe in barrenness or in sterility, attributing infertility to female design. A man, therefore, has cause to abandon a wife who bears him no children. One man told that he had abandoned his wife for not bearing children. Later they became reconciled; his wife had a change of heart and began to bear children.

842

● [846]

847

[862]

Male infanticide, I was assured, was rare, for even the most disaffected or self-indulgent woman would not have the heart to kill a male child. Both men and women agreed that a girl was less important. The unwanted child is buried alive, it is said, at the very spot where it was born.

842

000

The likelihood is very strong, then, that a child is born to a family that desires it, and in which husband and wife are happy with each other. Parturition takes place in the woman's manioc garden. A